largest stores in Siaton poblacion are operated by the Chinese as are the only two bakeries.[63] On the whole, the Chinese do not mix socially with the poblacion principalia (prominent persons).

The Spaniards called the Chinese Sangley from the Amoy word Sengli, i.e., trade.[64] In Siaton and Negros, the Chinese are called Inchek.[65] During the Spanish period in Siaton the Chinese wore their national dress. "They had long black pants which blew in the wind and coiled their hair on top of their heads." At first their stores sold only cloth, ~~such as~~ blankets (coverings would be a better word) with dragon designs. They also sold large tadyaos (clay ~~jars) with a~~ dragon design, used to make wine. Similar Chinese jars are fairly common among many of the primitive groups in the Philippines and are exceedingly costly. No such jars exist in Siaton today.

Sometimes the Chinese merchants fought among themselves. Then the Guardia Civil would tie the offenders' pig-tails together and drag them to jail. One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried

[63] In Manjuyod poblacion I visited a Chinese bakery and talked with the owner who said the Chinese from Macao and Canton are usually the bakers in Negros Oriental.

[64] Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia. Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 585.

[65] Cheng suggests two possible derivations of Inchek. First, when the Chinese were asked what was their race they jestingly replied to the questioner: "Their (in) uncle's (chek)." Second, that the Chinese referred to themselves as people of "foreign" (in) "nationality" (chek). Cheng, op. cit., p. 5.

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to build a new school in the poblacion. He told the people to collect the materials for the building and selected the plaza as the site. The parish priest, Jorje Carcabilla, objected to the erection of the school on land that belonged to the church.

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A bitter struggle between the two leaders followed. The quarrel over the school was secondary; the root of the disagreement was the conflict between the parish priest and the commandant over the management of local affairs and the accession of heirs of the Spanish throne. The political rivalries of Spain were carried to the Philippines. Carcabilla was a supporter of the Carlista party and Torres of the Isabelina party who were then quarreling over the accession rights of Isabel and Carlos, King Ferdinand's children.

Cadiane describes the priest as "cruel, like a soldier," but he is an obvious admirer of Torres. The priest emerged victorious in this dispute and classes continued to be held in the old school building. This victory of the parish priest over the commandant of the Guardia Civil indicates the power the priests then wielded in the Philippines.

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Zaide writes that the average parish priest during the Spanish period was "virtual ruler of the town."[106]

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[106]Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 165.

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Echauz concludes his short account with a description of a religious sacrifice by this group.

The wealth of Negros' growing sugar industry made plundering forages to the lowland quite profitable. The large estates of the hacenderos were rich prizes. William Taft reported:

> In the Spanish times forces of a thousand to fifteen hundred men [Babailanes] was not at all unusual. They...made forays down into the rich sugar haciendas that are in West Negros and sometimes to the rich planters of eastern Negros [probably at San Carlos and the Bais-Tanjay area] ..."[148]

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The contrast between the rich and the poor was especially vivid in western Negros. The wealth of the hacenderos grew with the expansion of sugar agriculture. One American observer, writing in 1901, commented:

> The situation in the Island is somewhat similar to that in Europe during the Middle Ages,--the great families rule the land. The Lazuriaggas [Luzuriagas], the Mapas, the Lacsons, are the Capulets and Montagues of the Island of Negros.[149]

Many of the sugar planters exploited their workers, as was the custom throughout the islands, and most of the abuses that existed during the Spanish period continued under the Negros Republic. The rapidly growing population of Negros increased the number of landless farmers who probably looked enviously on the great holdings of the hacenderos.

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The Babailanes raided and stole from Spaniards and Filipinos alike. They had a set tariff of blackmail which

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[148] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 14.

[149] W. F. Norris, "Legal Conditions in the Island of Negros," The Green Bag, XIV, No. 1, (January, 1902), p. 20.

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guheng and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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One time Ingoy [informant's first cousin] came to my place and started to make guhang from my buri. I was gathering coconuts for a Chinese in the poblacion. My wife and children were left alone in the house. My children were playing in the space under the house. Suddenly Lucia [informant's wife] heard buri palm leaves falling and she shouted to the children not to go near the tree. But Ingoy was in the tree and he answered: 'I'm the one here cutting leaves. What do you want? Where is your husband? I want to fight him because I want to go to San Ramon [penal colony in Mindanao].' So my wife immediately got me and I came home but he was gone. For three or four days I stayed in the house but Ingoy did not return to the buri.

One day he passed near my house carrying a sack of corn to be ground. I called him: 'You come here.' Ingoy said: 'Why?' I said: 'I want to talk with you.' He said: 'You come here if you want to talk to me.' So I went to him and asked him: 'Are you the one who cut my buri?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. I did it.' I said: 'Is it true you said you wanted to fight with me and go to San Ramon?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. It is true.' So I hit him three times. But he did not try to fight back. Nicara was weaving in a house near-by and she laughed. Ingoy's sister who saw us fighting cried: 'Please do not kill Ingoy.' [Informant imitated female voice of Ingoy's sister.] So Ingoy went on his way and his wife was crying but he left my buri alone.

Ingoy complained to the barrio lieutenant. He told him that I and my children ganged up on him. But I said I have witnesses and if he wanted to bring the matter to the court I was willing. But he never did. It was Ingoy's wife who brought Ingoy back to his house because after this quarrel he did not go home directly. I told Ingoy: 'It is not like before when I was small and whatever you and my relatives said I had to follow blindly. Now I have to take care of what is my own. Our parents usually quarreled and now that our parents are dead, their children will be the ones to quarrel.

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If the flow of the sap decreases or stops there are various remedies for the situation. A gash may be cut in the side of the palm's trunk at its base and a small fire built near the incision. The sap may resume its flow but the fire gives it a smoky taste. Others repeat the lihi previously described each day adding the fluid from the bottle until

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> land, animals, plants such as bamboo, coconut and buri palms, etc. Sometimes the father or mother selected one of their children to live with them and to take care of them when they got sick during their old age. When the father or mother was about to die, they called the poblacion officials to have them as witnesses that the son or daughter who stayed and took care of them would receive the rest of their properties. Sons and daughters in these times never went against the will of their parents.

This procedure--calling in poblacion officials as witnesses--was probably more typical of poblacion residents than the barriofolk.

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Parents, before their death, often temporarily partition lands among their children. This division may be made upon the children's request, particularly after they are married. Married brothers or sisters with children are often permitted to farm a larger field than childless or unmarried brothers and sisters, because the married couple "have more mouths to feed." This arrangement also minimizes quarrels among the children after their parents' death, according to the barriofolk. Yet these temporary partitions of land are often a source of conflict. Siblings who receive a larger parcel of land do not wish to have it reduced so their brothers and sisters will share equally.

While legally, and in most cases actually, property is equally distributed among the children, there is a tendency for the eldest sibling to try to get the "lion's share." A lawyer in Tanjay said that most of his civil cases result from the efforts of eldest siblings to get

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or retain more than an equal share of their parents' property. One incident was said to have occurred in Barrio Datag when a younger brother poisoned his elder brother with _botete_ fish because the latter refused to repartition equally their father's land after his death. The elder brother had been given temporarily a larger field than his brother by their father.

Again two brothers fought with _bolos_ over a supposedly unequal division of their parents' property in Barrio Canaway. Several disputes over equal inheritance among brothers and sisters were brought to Siaton _municipio_ and others were settled informally in the _barrios_. Elder siblings often have the advantage over younger brothers and sisters since they are usually married with children. As heads of the family they can wield considerable influence in such matters.

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Another reason why land is usually not permanently divided among their children before the parents' death is that the _hatud_ (bride-price) is normally paid by the son's parents, although he may contribute part of it.[12] If one's parents' property is permanently divided before all sons are married, then the unmarried sons would have to furnish their bride-price without aid from their

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12. The _hatud_ is not a payment to acquire a wife as property of her husband or his family. In most cases the payment is small and the money, animals, and food furnished by the groom's family are used by his bride's family in entertaining guests after the wedding. In some cases, however, the _hatud_ is so large that a sizable profit is made by the girl's family.

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parents' estate. The eldest son of one family whose parents were dead, when questioned why he had not divided their property among his younger siblings, replied:

> At present I cannot agree to the division of our parents' property for the reason that most of us are still unmarried and our youngest sister is still in school. She is not eighteen yet. The money spent by my parents to marry my brothers and sisters was taken from the income of our parents' property.

The eldest son and one of his younger brothers were bachelors.

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One mother's children were urging her to press for division of her deceased parents' property, that was being farmed by her eldest brother. This arrangement had been in force for many years. While the brother gave each of the heirs a share of the harvest, his nieces and nephews believed their mother's share would be larger if they farmed the land. However, the woman was reluctant to demand that her brother divide the land since several children were still unmarried.

In both these cases the individuals farming the fields received one-half of the harvest plus their share of the harvest as heirs. For example, if two of five brothers tilled the fields of their dead parents, furnishing the seed and animals, they receive 70 per cent of the harvest; 50 per cent for cultivating the fields and 10 per cent each as two of the five heirs. The land tax is divided equally among all heirs. It is to the

disadvantage of such heirs to repartition the fields among their younger brothers and sisters. If they did, they would be unable to work all the fields or receive 50 per cent of the harvest; they would receive only the crops raised on their own fields. 428 578.

Another case will illustrate how temporary division of the fields of the deceased (or living parents) in Caticugan caused rancor and dissension among the heirs. One father, while he was alive, divided his land between his two sons. Shortly after his death a flood ruined part of the elder son's field near the Mantuyop River. The division had been acceptable to both sons until the flood. After the flood the elder son demanded repartition of the land, arguing his field now was less valuable than that farmed by his younger brother. This quarrel smouldered during my entire residence.

When parents become very old they often live with married children. Sometimes the children are given permission to farm their parents' fields but the latter continue to share in the harvest; the children are their parents' tenants. An old woman in Caticugan had divided her land between her daughter and spinster sister. She still received part of the harvest each year from her field that was cultivated by her son-in-law. It was understood that on her spinster sister's death the latter's property would revert to her niece (i.e., daughter of her elder sister). Other elderly persons retain part 388 428

loaned her the money to purchase the fields. No decision had been reached on this case during my residence. 428

If some heirs are too young to farm the land they inherit, an elder sibling or relative may cultivate the fields until the heirs marry or are capable of tilling the land. Conflicts sometimes occur from these arrangements. In Barrio Canaway the parents of several small children died; their uncle (FaBr) cared for them and farmed their parents' fields. Later some of the children married and the unmarried children moved from their uncle's house to live with their brothers. They began to farm their parents' fields but the uncle refused to part with two parcels of land. He claimed one field as payment for the care he had given his nieces and nephews, and that the other field had been sold to him by their deceased parents when the children were young. The heirs claimed that their uncle had no legal documents to show for this alleged sale and that his family had lived off the harvests--which was full payment for their care. Their case was informally settled at Siaton municipio, in favor of the children. Often these disputes, when brought to the municipio, are not formally taken to court but are informally settled by the mayor or the chief of police. 423 518

Land records in Siaton municipio usually are not changed when children or relatives inherit property. Sometimes the records remain in the heirs' parents' name "out of respect to their memories." There is also a 423 428

rare. In fact, the only example that could be cited was when Lucas Ege died, his large dwelling in the poblacion was torn down and the timber and posts were distributed among his heirs. The average house in Caticugan would hardly be worth the trouble of disassembling it. 428

The customs of Caticugan illustrate the central concept of Philippine inheritance law--equal distribution among the heirs. Also illustrated are the complexities of the system as practiced in Caticugan. Some siblings attempt to inherit more than a rightful share; there occur devious arrangements to disinherit legal heirs, secret agreements, delayed division of property, inaccurate land records, and other methods of transferring property on death without legal safeguards. Under such conditions it is not surprising to find that much tension and conflict in the barrio center around land, usually involving both consanguine and affinal relatives.

TYPES OF LAND DISPUTES

Nearly 20 per cent (sixteen cases) of eighty-four civil and criminal suits analysed from the available court records of Siaton municipio resulted from illegal cultivation of another's land, boundary disputes, or attempts to obtain more than one's rightful inheritance.[14] The chief 423 578 685

[14] A court of the First Instance is located in Siaton poblacion; each month, on certain days, a judge comes to the municipio to reside over the court. There is a judge in residence in Tolong poblacion who hears cases for this municipality and Sta. Catalina.

of police and the mayor are often consulted informally and disputes are settled outside the court without formal record of the disagreement. The chief of police said that most informal settlements involved disputed land boundaries, unequal division of land among heirs or the value of shares. Equal division of the land by area often is not "equal" since some parcels are rockier or more fertile than others. Often the fields that border one's land belong to relatives and were once owned by common grandparents, parents or siblings.

Cadiane writes of land disputes he dealt with when serving as justice of the peace in Siaton from 1906-1914. For example, one case filed in his court in 1912 concerned the ownership of about 6[illegible] acres in Sitio Habay (Barrio Sandolot).

> Nearly 60 people claimed to own part of this land. I set a day for all the claimants to be at the land they claimed. I went to the land in question, on the last Saturday of August, 1912, at about 9 o'clock in the morning. When I reached Habay nearly 200 people had gathered there. I asked the people if their land in the barrio had been registered. All the people said no because they had to clear their land of big trees. They needed axes to cut the big casay trees that were abundant in this place. I asked the people how they happened to own the land they claimed. Most of the people said that they inherited the land from their parents and grandparents. I told them to divide the land equally among themselves and not to fight over their claims because if they did, I told them further, the government would confiscate their lands and distribute it to other people. I told them that the barrio lieutenants of Sandolot, Datag and Habay would be the ones to divide their land in question so each one would register their land. I advised them not to go against my decision because if they did, no land would be given to them. The land was divided and registered by each owner and the dispute was settled. There have been no disputes over this land in Habay until the present time.

Cadiane states that during the Spanish and early American periods many local disputes centered about the ownership of coconut or buri trees planted between the field boundaries--a type of dispute that is common today in Siaton. 423 578 685

The following excerpt from the life history of a middle-aged male resident of Naga illustrates vividly the troubles over land. This informant's problems, while not typical of every family, indicate the types of arguments in many families. Questions in () were asked by the writer during the interview. 423 578

> (Did you ever have any quarrels with your relatives?) Sometimes we would quarrel. (About what?) Boundaries of our land. One of my relatives removed the correct boundaries between our land. (What boundaries?) Like when one fixes a fence, one may move the new fence a little farther over on someone else's land.
>
> Some of my relatives moved his fence onto my land about a handspan every year. If I do not watch them hard a handspan of land is stolen from me every year. Like Domingo [his mother's brother's son] planted buri palms in the center of our field boundary. When the buris grew big he fenced the field. He put the fence on the outside of the buris instead of in the middle. [The point is as the palm trunks expand the fence would slowly move onto the informant's land]. So I told Domingo that his fence would have to pass through the middle of the buris but he said the buris are growing. But I said: 'Suppose the buris grow one fathom onto my land? You will take this land too?' (What did you do about it?) One time we brought the quarrel to the teniente de barrio and Domingo was advised to put the fence in the middle of the buris. He agreed to do this but when he repaired the fence he did not put the fence in the middle.
>
> One of my nephews, Antero (Your real nephew?)--no, he is my pagomangkon sa pagpagaowan because his mother is my first cousin. Well, Antero was plowing his field which is next to mine. He made a fence on part of my land. I told him not to plant anything near the fence because I was going to pull it up.

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People who are interested in cheating neighbors can gain by cheating this way. Like the older brother of Domingo [the informant's first cousin] whose land borders that of Escoy [a non-relative]. He [Mariano, Domingo's older brother] planted coconuts between the field of his and Escoy's. But Escoy does not visit his fields very often. He does not pay much attention to his boundaries. So Mariano put his fence so all the coconuts were on his side and made the fence out of tuba [a popular wood used to make fences for it grows easily when transplanted]. Escoy did not pay any attention to this. So everytime Mariano repaired his fence he put it so the coconuts were on his side. He also planted buri close to the fence. When they grew big, he built the fence so all the buris were inside the fence on his side. Until now Mariano has cheated Escoy out of almost a six foot strip of land.

(You did not finish your story about Antero, your first cousin.) Well, he did not move back his fence and it is still on my land. He did not plant anything there, however. (Why don't you move the fence back to its proper place?) Well, when the fence gets old I'm going to do that.

I fought with Mariano over a land quarrel. One time when Mariano was putting in posts for a fence he did not follow the boundaries exactly. Instead of following the boundaries he curved the fence a little to get some of my land. So I pulled up the posts and put them in the right place. He got mad so we fought. When I was fighting with Mariano he picked up a stone and hit me on the forehead near my eyelid. This matter was taken to the municipio. While we were in court Mariano tried to say this wound was caused by my falling. But the judge and the sanitary inspector said that type of wound could not be caused by falling but was due to a blow from a stone. So Mariano was sentenced to three day's work in the municipio. At this time Mariano was a man of the mayor and he whispered to the mayor at the trial. But the mayor just said: 'It is only three days, you just work it out.' If I don't watch my cousins they will cheat me out of some of my land.

When I was 10 years old--there were eight in my family--my mother quarreled with her brother and sister over land. One of my mother's brothers built a fence on part of my mother's land. I told my mother what Julio [the informant's maternal uncle] was doing. So my mother told Julio that the fence was on part of her land. Julio said: 'Never mind, it is only over a little on your side.' Julio's wife urged him to do this. She said: 'You try to get a

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little more land because we have plenty of children. This case was brought to the court and my mother was alone against her seven brothers and sisters. The case was not finished for a long time. (Who won?) My mother won the case.

My mother was the youngest in her family. During this time my mother's father was still living. My mother's brothers were already married, ahead of my mother. So my mother's father gave land to the married children. He said to his married children: 'I'm still alive and eating so I'll hold this piece of land myself. When I die you divide this land into two equal parts. One part goes to my daughter [informant's mother] and then you divide the other piece among yourselves.' When my mother's father died, the older brothers and sister did not want to give my mother any land.

(Do other people quarrel ~~over~~ land in Naga or Caticugan?) No, I'm the only one. Oh, I forgot, there is Day and Maria who are quarreling over land. (Tell me about this quarrel.) Day changed the boundaries of her land. (Who is Maria?) Day's husband is the first cousin of Maria's father. Maria's father had a brother and her father and his brother jointly owned a piece of land. Maria's father's brother sold his half of the land to Day. The other half belonged to his father. When this land was sold to Day it was divided equally and the boundaries established. When Day built a new fence she moved it over a little onto the land that belongs to Maria's father. When Maria found out she pulled up the posts and returned them to the correct boundary. She told Day to bring the matter to the court. But Day did not do this. Maria lives in Dangola. Everytime she visits her land she finds out the fence is not in the right place. So Maria has told the people she does not know why Day wants to cheat her out of her land when Day has no children. Maria offered to buy the land from Day but Day does not want to sell.

It is tiresome to have this type of person having land bordering your land. Good if I were the first one to build the fence. I would build it on the right boundary. These people who want to cheat you build the fence in the right place the first time. When they rebuild the fence they make it a little more over on your land. In three years, by this way, they can get enough land to plant coconuts.

Another woman explained, in her life history, the

of land disputes she knew about in Caticugan.

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middle-aged woman, born in the barrio, and respected by most of the people.

(Did your parents ever quarrel with their relatives over land?) No, just their offspring today. (What are the quarrels about?) The owner of land near our place is Juana, my father's sister's daughter. She had a clerk come from the municipio to measure her land. She wanted her land to extend into my land. So this is the question now. We do not want Juana to claim part of my land because it belonged to my father.

There is another case between Juana and Mang. The old declaration of Juana's land measured only 141 meters while Mang's measured 142 meters. Mang's declaration [land record] was old because it was made in 1914. Recently Juana claimed part of Mang's land because her 1951 declaration measured 280 meters. They have taken the quarrel to court.

Juana went to the chief of police to complain about a buri that was made into guhang by Mang. So the chief of police sent a policeman to measure the land to determine ownership of the buri. After measuring the land they found it was on Mang's land. So Juana lost this complaint. Not satisfied by the decision of the chief she complained to the judge. When the complaint was filed with the judge he called a preliminary trial between Juana and Mang. He asked Mang whether she could employ a lawyer; and she said no because the land rightfully belonged to her. I was sitting near Mang and whispered to her to ask the judge if Juana could also employ a lawyer. But Mang was shy and did not say anything. The judge urged Mang to have a lawyer because how could she answer his questions without one. If she could not answer his questions she would lose the case. So the case is still pending.

Clement, Mang's brother, cut some bamboo located on the land in question. So Juana again went to the judge. She asked him if she had lost the case because Clement cut bamboo without her permission. The judge said no and that he would subpoena Clement and Mang to come on October 31. But the subpoena was made out wrong because the judge came October 30. So the case is still pending. Juana has told others she would not talk to the judge because she had paid the chief of police $14 to talk for her; it will be he who will face the judge. Mang says if she is defeated she will see the Public Defender in Dumaguete.

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(When you were a young girl were land disputes taken to the municipio or the teniente de barrio?" Before the gulang old people were good because whenever they had a controversy over land they settled it by themselves--but today it is very different. I do not remember my parents ever making trouble regarding land boundaries. (What about your relatives when you were a young girl?) They never quarreled about land that I can remember. (In the old days were there many quarrels over land?) Before, in the old days, there was little land trouble but today there is much. After the war when people received money from war damage, land troubles flared up because they had money to spend for the court. Juana said: 'I have money for the expenses of my case.' She got $400 from the war damage committee according to others.

There are a number of reasons for the apparent increase of land disputes in contemporary Caticugan. During the Spanish period, Gadiane states, fewer arguments occurred over ownership of fields per se (in comparison with the present); however, many quarrels developed regarding correct field boundaries. Once more land was available to the barriofolk and fewer people lived in the locality. Parental authority was stronger in the past; children denied this authority less frequently than they do today. Increased mobility of the people, however, has brought many disputes to the poblacion court that once were settled by barrio lieutenants in the rural communities. Today few barriofolk have more land than they need to feed their families and there is little land for sale--even if one has the money to buy it. The real importance of land is not its sale value but its food-producing capacity.

One type of land conflict that frequently occurred in the past and seems to be the major source of contention today is quarrels over correct field boundaries. Field boundaries are usually marked with rickety bamboo fences, bamboo or

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banana clumps, coconut or buri palms--all relatively impermanent. No surveys have been made so no accurate records of boundaries exist in the municipio. Since land is rarely sold, boundary disputes often involve such quarrels.

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TENANCY ARRANGEMENTS: LOWLAND

Under the common paddy tenancy arrangement in Caticugan the tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, pays all costs of transplanting and cultivating while the landlord furnishes the seed and shares harvest expenses equally with his tenant. The net produce of the paddy is divided 50-50. In some tenancy arrangements, the tenant furnishes the carabao and the plow, the landlord the seed; both share equally all costs of production and divide the net produce 50-50. A few tenants furnish everything--animal, plow, seeds--and pay production costs except for the harvest which the landlord shares equally; the tenant receives 66-2/3 per cent of the net harvest. If this arrangement is reversed the tenant receives the smaller harvest share.

The Philippine Rice Tenancy Act (first passed in 1933 and amended in 1946) defines the legal relation of tenant and landlord. According to this Act, if a tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, the landlord the seeds, and both share equally the costs of transplanting and cultivation, the net harvest is to be divided 45-55 in favor of the tenant.[15] According to the Act, expenses of harvesting and threshing are to be deducted from the

[15] A personal letter to the writer from Mr. Deogracias E. Lerma, Chief, Tenancy Division, Court of Industrial Relations, Department of Justice, Manila, September 18, 1951.